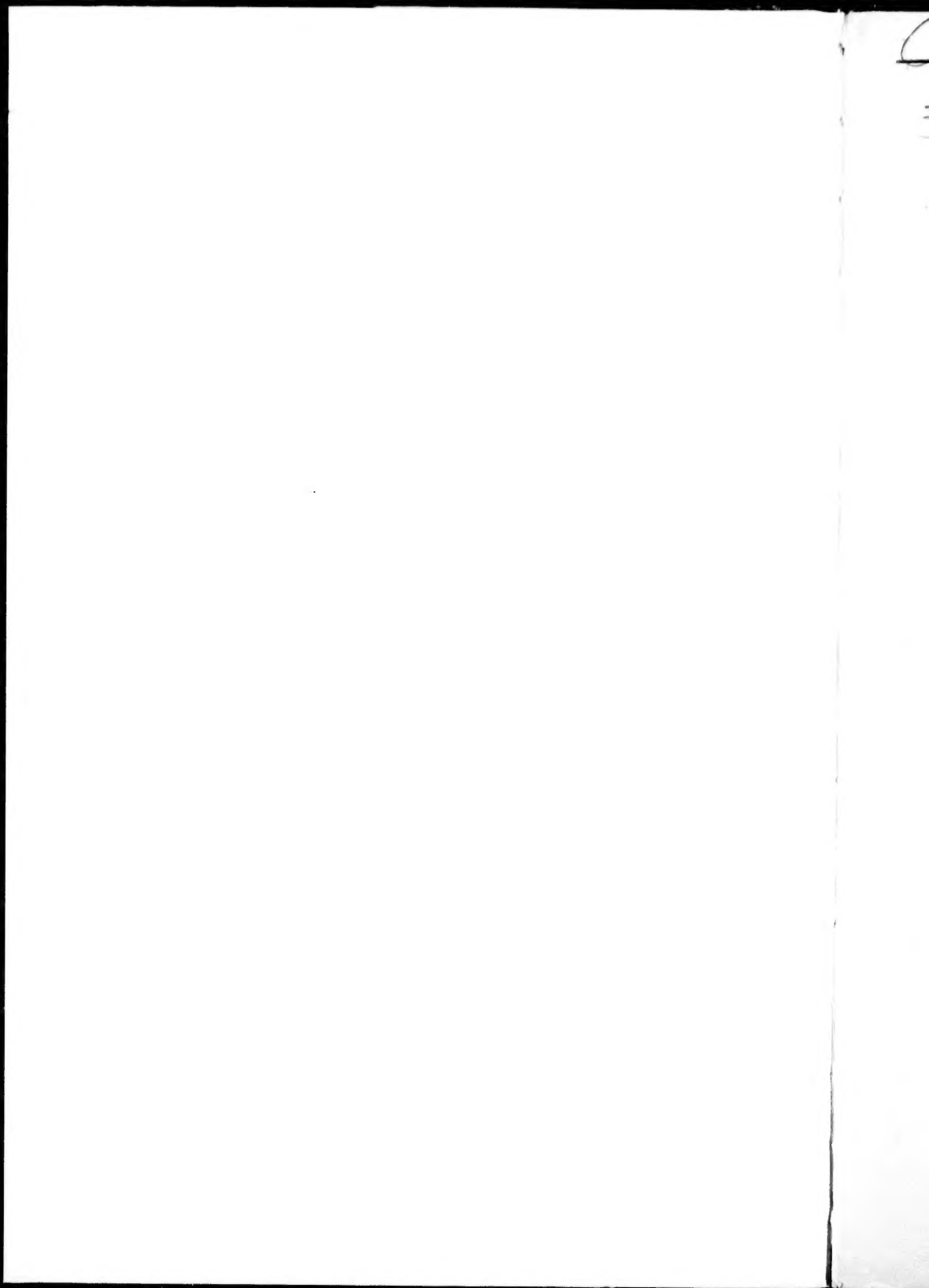




~~Can. Pam.~~ ~~Dufferin and Co.~~
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SPEECH

OF

LORD DUFFERIN

(GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA).

WITH

THE COMMENTS

OF

THE ENGLISH PRESS.

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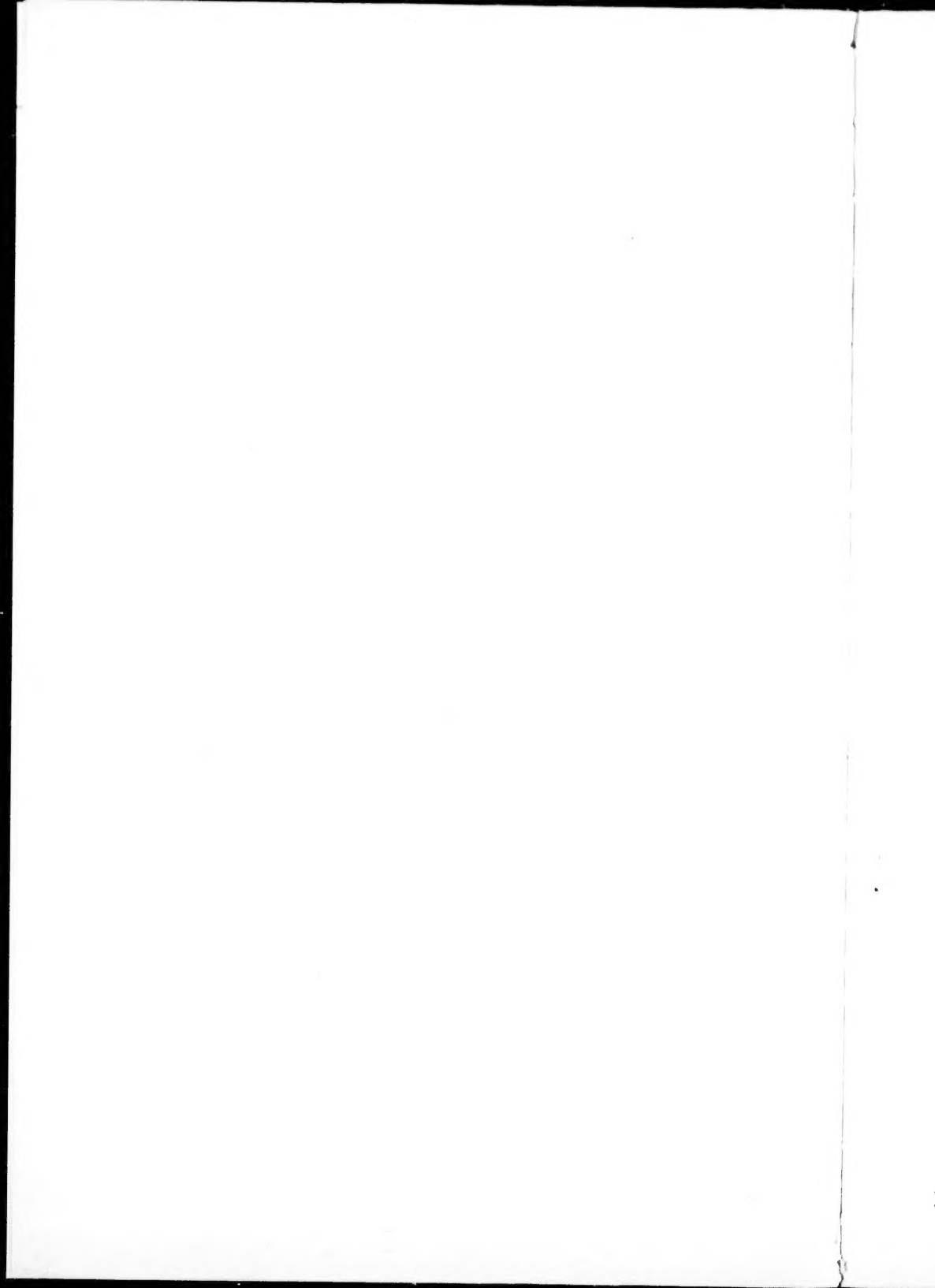
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The following speech, delivered by Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General of Canada, at a banquet given him by the Toronto Club to welcome his return from a tour to the western districts of Canada and the United States, reflects so perfectly the main object with which this Institute (of which his Lordship is a member) was founded, that it is believed its republication and circulation in the present form will be acceptable to the Fellows of the Institute in general, many of whom, living in distant colonies, might otherwise not have an opportunity of seeing it.

The comments on it which follow will show with what unanimity of approval it has been welcomed by the leading organs of public opinion of all shades of politics in England. It will be observed by the article from the Standard that whilst the speech as a whole has been enthusiastically approved by the Canadians, one expression has been taken exception to—viz., that in which his Lordship is represented as saying that Canada would become a “powerful associate of the British Empire.” For this he is taken to task as if he had hinted at a mere alliance. But it would be quite inconsistent with the whole tone and tenor of the speech, and directly at variance with many other expressions in it, to suppose that the Governor-General meant to imply any other relationship than the “association” of the Dominion with the other great colonies, and with Great Britain herself, in a common partnership as members of one United Empire.

C. W. EDDY,

Hon. Secretary.



THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA ON THE DOMINION.

At a dinner given at Toronto by the Toronto Club on Sept. 2 to Lord Dufferin, Governor-General of the Dominion, his Lordship spoke as follows in reply to the toast of his health. He said:—Mr. Cameron and Gentlemen,—I cannot but consider it a very happy circumstance that one of the most gratifying progresses ever made by a representative of the Queen in any portion of the British Empire should find its appropriate close in this cordial and splendid reception at the hands of a body of gentlemen which, though non-political in its corporate character, is so thoroughly representative of all that is most distinguished in the various schools of political thought in Canada. It is but a few short weeks since I left Toronto, and yet I question whether many born Canadians have ever seen or learnt more of the western half of the Dominion than I have during that brief period. (Hear, hear.) Memory itself scarcely suffices to reflect the shifting vision of mountain, wood, and water, inland seas and silver rolling rivers, golden cornlands and busy, prosperous towns through which we have held our way; but though the mind's eye fail to ever again readjust the dazzling panorama, as long as life endures not a single echo of the universal greeting with which we have been welcomed will be hushed within our hearts. (Great applause.) Yet deeply as I am sensible of the personal kindness of which I have been the recipient, proud as I feel of the honour done to my office, moved as I have been by the devoted affection shown for our Queen and for our common country, no one is better aware than myself of the imperfect return I have made to the generous enthusiasm which has been evoked. If, then, gentlemen, I now fail to respond in suitable

terms to the toast you have drunk, if in my hurried replies to the innumerable addresses with which I have been honoured an occasional indiscreet or ill-considered phrase should have escaped my lips, I know that your kindness will supply my shortcomings, that naught will be set down in malice, and that an indulgent construction will be put upon my hasty sentences. (Laughter and cheers.) But, gentlemen, though the language of gratitude may fail, the theme itself supplies me with that of congratulation, for never has the head of any Government passed through a land so replete with contentment in the present, so pregnant with promise in the future. (Cheers.) From the Northern forest borderlands, whose primeval recesses are being pierced and indented by the rough-and-ready cultivation of the free-grant settler, to the trim enclosures and wheat-laden townships that smile along the lakes—from the orchards of Niagara to the hunting-grounds of Nepigon—in the wigwam of the Indian, in the homestead of the farmer—in the workshop of the artisan, in the office of his employer—everywhere have I learnt that the people are satisfied—(applause)—satisfied with their own individual prospects and with the prospects of their country—(applause)—satisfied with their Government and with the institutions under which they prosper—(applause)—satisfied to be the subjects of the Queen—(tremendous applause)—satisfied to be members of the British Empire. (Renewed applause.) Indeed, I cannot help thinking that, quite apart from the advantages to myself, my yearly journeys through the provinces will have been of public benefit, as exemplifying with what spontaneous, unconcerted unanimity of language the entire Dominion has declared its faith in itself, in its destiny, in its connection with the mother country, and in the well-ordered freedom of a Constitutional Monarchy. (Applause.) And, gentlemen, it is this very combination of sentiments which appears to me so wholesome and satisfactory. Words cannot express what pride I feel as an Englishman in the loyalty of Canada to England. (Hear, hear.) Nevertheless, I should be the first to deplore this feeling if it rendered Canada disloyal to herself—if it either dwarfed or smothered Canadian patriotism, or generated a sickly spirit of dependence. Such, however, is far from being the case. The legislation of your Parliament, the attitude of your statesmen, the language of your press, sufficiently show how firmly and intelligently you are prepared to

accept and apply the almost unlimited legislative faculties with which you have been endowed—(hear, hear)—while the daily growing disposition to extinguish sectional jealousies and to ignore an obsolete provincialism, proves how strongly the young heart of your confederated commonwealth has begun to throb with the consciousness of its nationalised existence. (Great cheering.) At this moment not a shilling of British money finds its way to Canada, the interference of the Home Government with the domestic affairs of the Dominion has ceased, while the Imperial relations between the two countries are regulated by a spirit of such mutual deference, forbearance, and moderation as reflects the greatest credit upon the statesmen of both. (Hear, hear.) Yet so far from this gift of autonomy having brought about any divergence of aim or aspiration on either side, every reader of our annals must be aware that the sentiments of Canada towards Great Britain are infinitely more friendly now than in those early days when the political intercourse of the two countries was disturbed and complicated by an excessive and untoward tutelage—(cheers)—that never was Canada more united than at present in sympathy of purpose and unity of interest with the mother country, more at one with her in social habits and tone of thought, more proud of her claim to share in the heritage of England's past, more ready to accept whatever obligations may be imposed upon her by her partnership in the future fortunes of the Empire. (Tremendous applause.) Again, nothing in my recent journey has been more striking—nothing, indeed, has been more affecting—than the passionate loyalty everywhere evinced towards the person and throne of Queen Victoria. (Great cheering.) Wherever I have gone—in the crowded cities, in the remote hamlet—the affection of the people for their Sovereign has been blazoned forth against the summer sky by every device which art could fashion or ingenuity invent. (Cheers.) Even in the wilds and deserts of the land, the most secluded and untutored settler would hoist some rag of cloth above his shanty, and startle the solitudes of the forest with a shot from his rusty firelock, and a lusty cheer from himself and his children in glad allegiance to his country's Queen. (Applause.) Even the Indian in his forest or on his reserve would marshal forth his picturesque symbols of fidelity, in grateful recognition of a Government that never broke a

treaty or falsified its plighted word to the red man—(great applause)—or failed to evince for the ancient children of the soil a wise and conscientious solicitude. (Renewed applause and cheers.) Yet, touching as were the exhibitions of so much generous feeling, I could scarcely have found pleasure in them had they merely been the expressions of a traditional habit or of a conventional sentimentality. No, gentlemen, they spring from a far more genuine and noble source. (Cheers.) The Canadians are loyal to Queen Victoria, in the first place, because they honour and love her for her personal qualities—(cheers)—for her life-long devotion to her duties—(cheers)—for her faithful observance of all the obligations of a constitutional monarch—(cheers)—and in the next place they revere her as the symbol and representative of a glorious national life—of as satisfactory a form of government as any country in the world can point to—a national life illustrious through a thousand years with the achievements of patriots, statesmen, warriors, and scholars—(great cheers)—a form of government which, more perfectly than any other, combines the element of stability with a complete recognition of popular rights, and insures by its social accessories, so far as is compatible with the imperfections of human nature, a lofty standard of obligation and simplicity of manners in the classes that regulate the general tone of our civil intercourse. As you know, on my way across the lakes I called at the city of Chicago—a city which has again risen more splendid than ever from her ashes—and at Detroit, the home of one of the most prosperous and intelligent communities on this continent. At both these places I was received with the utmost kindness and courtesy by the civic authorities and by the citizens themselves, who vied with each other in making me feel with how friendly an interest that great and generous people who have advanced the United States to so splendid a position in the family of nations regard their Canadian neighbours; but though disposed to watch with genuine admiration and sympathy the development of our Dominion into a great power, our friends across the line are wont, as you know, to amuse their lighter moments with those “large utterances that pleased the early gods.” (Laughter.) More than once I was addressed with the playful suggestion that Canada should unite her fortunes with those of the great Republic. (Laughter.) To those invitations I invariably re-

plied by acquainting them that in Canada we were essentially a democratic people—(great laughter)—that nothing would content us unless the popular will could exercise an immediate and complete control over the executive of the country—(renewed laughter)—that the Ministers who conducted the Government were but a committee of Parliament, which was itself an emanation from the constituencies—(loud applause)—and that no Canadian would be able to breathe freely if he thought that the persons administering the affairs of his country were removed beyond the supervision and control of our Legislative Assemblies. (“Hear, hear,” cheers, and laughter.) And, gentlemen, in this extemporised repartee of mine there will be found, I think, a germ of sound philosophy. (Laughter.) In fact, it appears to me that even from the point of view of the most enthusiastic advocate of popular rights the Government of Canada is nearly perfect, for while you are free from those historical complications which sometimes clog the free running of our Parliamentary machinery at home—while you possess every popular right and guarantee that reason can demand—(hear, hear)—you have an additional element of elasticity introduced into your system in the person of the Governor-General, for, as I had occasion to remark elsewhere, in most forms of Government, should a misunderstanding occur between the head of the State and the representatives of the people, it is possible a deadlock might ensue of a very grave character, inasmuch as there would be of course no power of appeal to a third party—and deadlocks are the dangers of all constitutional systems; whereas in Canada, should the Governor-General and his Legislature unhappily disagree, the misunderstanding is referred to England as *amicus curiæ*, whose only object of course it is to give free play to your Parliamentary institutions, whose intervention can be relied upon as impartial and benevolent, and who would immediately replace an erring or impracticable Viceroy—for such things can be—(laughter)—by another officer more competent to his duties, without the slightest hitch or disturbance having been occasioned in the ordinary march of your affairs. (Applause.) If, then, the Canadian people are loyal to the Crown, it is with a reasoning loyalty. (Applause.) It is because they are able to appreciate the advantage of having inherited a constitutional system so workable, so well-balanced, and so peculiarly adapted to their own special wants.

(Applause.) If to these constitutional advantages we add the blessing of a judiciary not chosen by a capricious method of popular election, but selected for their ability and professional standing by responsible Ministers, and alike independent of popular favour and political influences—(hear, hear)—a civil service whose rights of permanency both the great political parties of the country have agreed to recognise—(applause)—and consequently a civil service free from partisanship, and disposed to make the service of the state rather than that of party their chief object—(hear, hear)—an electoral system purged of corruption by the joint action of the ballot and the newly-constituted courts for the trial of bribery—(cheers)—a population hardy, thrifty, and industrious, simple in their manners, sober in mind, God-fearing in their lives; and lastly, an almost unlimited breadth of territory, replete with agricultural and mineral resources,—it may be fairly said that Canada sets forth upon her enviable career under as safe, sound, and solid auspices as any state whose barque has been committed to the stream of time. (Great cheering.) The only thing still wanted is to man the ship with a more numerous crew. From the extraordinary number of babies I have seen at every window and at every cottage door—(cheers and laughter)—native energy and talent appear to be rapidly supplying this defect—(laughter)—still it is a branch of industry in which the home manufacturer has no occasion to dread foreign competition—(great laughter)—and Canadians can well afford to share their fair inheritance with the straitened sons of toil at home. (Great cheering.) When crossing the Atlantic to take up the government of this country, I found myself the fellow-passenger of some hundred emigrants. As soon as they had recovered from the effects of sea-sickness, the captain of the ship assembled these persons in the hold, and invited the Canadian gentlemen on board to give them any information in regard to their adopted country which might seem useful. Some of the emigrants began asking questions, and one man prefaced his remarks by saying that “he had the misfortune of having too many children.” Being called upon in my turn to address the company, I alluded to this phrase, which had grated harshly on my ears, and remarked that perhaps no better idea could be given of the differences between the Old Country and their new home than by the fact, that whereas in England a struggling man might be overweighted in the

battle of life by a numerous family, in the land to which they were going a man could scarcely have too many children. (Cheers and laughter.) Upon which I was greeted with an approving thump on the back by a stalwart young emigrant, who cried out, "Right you are, sir ; that's what I have been telling Emily." (Great laughter.) Indeed, for many years past I have been a strong advocate of emigration in the interests of the British population. I believe that emigration is a benefit both to those that go and to those that remain, at the same time that it is the most effectual and legitimate weapon with which labour can contend with capital. (Hear, hear.) I have written a book upon the subject, and I have been very much scolded for wishing to depopulate my native country ; but however strong an advocate of emigration from the English standpoint, I am of course a thousandfold more interested in the subject as the head of the Canadian Government. (Applause.) Of course I am not in a position, nor is it desirable that I should take the responsibility, of saying anything on this occasion which should expose me hereafter to the reproach of having drawn a false picture or given delusive information in regard to the prospects and opportunities afforded by Canada to the intending settler. (Hear, hear.) The subject is so serious a one—so much depends upon the individual training, capacity, health, conduct, and antecedents of each several emigrant—that no one without an intimate and special knowledge of the subject would be justified in authoritatively enlarging upon it—(hear, hear)—but this at all events I may say—wherever I have gone I have found numberless persons who came to Canada without anything, and have since risen to competence and wealth—(applause)—that I have met no one who did not gladly acknowledge himself better off than on his first arrival—(cheers)—and that amongst thousands of persons with whom I have been brought into contact, no matter what their race or nationality, none seemed ever to regret that they had come here. (Great and continued applause.) This fact particularly struck me on entering the log huts of the settlers in the more distant regions of the country. Undoubtedly their hardships had been very great, the difficulties of climate and locality frequently discouraging, their personal privations most severe ; yet the language of all was identical, evincing without exception pride in the past, content with the present,

hope in the future—(cheers)—while, combined with the satisfaction each man felt in his own success and the improved prospects of his family, there shone another and even a nobler feeling, namely, the delight inspired by the consciousness of being a co-efficient unit in a visibly prosperous community, to whose prosperity he was himself contributing. (“Hear, hear,” and cheers.) Of course these people never could have attained the position in which I found them without tremendous exertions. Probably the agricultural labourer who comes to this country from Norfolk or Dorsetshire will have to work a great deal harder than ever he worked in his life before, but if his work is harder he will find a sweetener to his toil of which he could never have dreamt in the Old Country, namely, the prospect of independence—of a roof over his head for which he shall pay no rent, and of ripening corn-fields round his homestead which own no master but himself. (Tremendous applause.) Let a man be sober, healthy, and industrious ; let him come out at a proper time of the year ; let him be content with small beginnings and not afraid of hard work ; and I can scarcely conceive how he should fail in his career. (Long-continued applause.) Gentlemen, I have been tempted by the interest of the subject to trespass far too long, I fear, upon your indulgence—(no, no)—but I felt that perhaps I could not make a more appropriate return for the honour you have done me than by frankly mentioning to you the impressions left upon my mind by my recent journeys. (Hear, hear.) It only now remains for me, therefore, to thank you again most heartily for your kindness, and to assure you that every fresh mark of confidence which I receive from any section of the Canadian people only makes me more determined to strain every nerve in their service—(cheering)—and to do my best to contribute towards the great work upon which you are engaged—namely, that of building up on this side of the Atlantic a prosperous, loyal, and powerful associate of the British Empire. (Cheers.)

COMMENTS OF THE ENGLISH PRESS.

(From the *Standard*, September 24.)

WE are glad to find that Lord Dufferin, when emancipated from the trammels of his Ministerial policy, and breathing once more the free and healthy air of Canada, is able to speak as a genuine British statesman and patriot on a topic which to Canadians is the one of very highest interest. To the members of the Toronto Club he has delivered an address which commands our all but complete admiration, whether for the sagacity with which he has apprehended the tone of Canadian national opinion or the liberality and large-heartedness with which he has interpreted the reciprocal duties and relations of Great Britain and her noble American province. Few more wholesome, manly, or statesmanlike speeches than this have ever been delivered on this question of the Imperial connection with the colonies, and we are not the less disposed to applaud it because in its spirit it is in flat opposition to some of the accepted doctrines of the Liberal philosophy, and because it echoes precisely the views which we have never ceased to urge upon this all-important question. To those who have speculated upon the presumed centrifugal tendencies of the colonies, who have been everlastingly predicting their speedy disruption from the empire, and doing their best to hasten the accomplishment of their prophecy, it must be a great disappointment to perceive how remote are the visions in which they have indulged, and how distant is the event towards which they have shaped their policy. It is the more satisfactory to find that the evidence of the intensity and strength of Canadian loyalty comes to us under the hand of a statesman who cannot be accused of having been prejudiced in favour of the views he advocates prior to his arrival in Canada—who has been trained in that Liberal creed which believes that the colonists ought not to be loyal—and who has seen so much done by his late colleagues to smother and repress any undue feeling of Imperialism among the distant members of the British nationality.

Apologising for any "indiscreet or ill-considered phrases" which may have escaped his lips during the earlier part of his tour, Lord Dufferin spoke to his hearers in eloquent terms of the land through which he had passed, "so replete with contentment in the present, so pregnant with promise in the future." On all sides he had heard of the universal satisfaction of the people with their lot, with their prospects, and with their institutions—their especial satisfaction with being subjects of the Queen and members of the British Empire. The Dominion, with spontaneous unanimity, had declared its faith in itself, in its destiny, in its connection with the mother country, and "in the well-ordered freedom of a Constitutional Monarchy." All this should be gall and wormwood to those who have advised Canada to "take up her freedom," or who

have anticipated that the result of endowing her with self-government would be the separation from the mother country and the establishment of a Republic. Nothing more unlike a Republic, and yet further from a servile dependence, can be seen than in the spectacle which Canada affords the world at the present moment, and it is all the more gratifying that the loyalty to Great Britain and to the Monarchy does not exclude the idea of loyalty to Canada, and that it does not dwarf or smother Canadian patriotism. While no people in the world have a keener sense of their own independence, while none show a more intelligent appreciation of their national rights, or are disposed more vigorously to work out their own destinies, there is with all that, and not inconsistent with it, a fervent sentiment of love and attachment to the fatherland, the strength of which it is hardly possible for us in England sufficiently to estimate. Yet not the less should we value this sentiment when we know that not a shilling of British money is now expended on Canada, and that the interference of the Imperial Government with local matters has absolutely ceased. Lord Dufferin lays perhaps too great a stress upon "the excessive and untoward tutelage" which once complicated the intercourse between the two countries. The tutelage was no more than came of necessity, considering what was the nature and origin of the connection; and is as unjust to complain of it as to accuse a community which is now full grown of having been once young. There was a time when Canada needed a more direct protection and supervision from England than she now enjoys, and if the period was prolonged a few years after the tutelage was required, that cannot justify the mode and the spirit in which it was abruptly withdrawn. We have always maintained that the best way of ruling a colony and preserving it to the Empire is to leave it as much as possible to manage its own internal affairs; but we have also contended that the process of growth from dependence to independence should be carefully graduated—that self-government should not be so bestowed as to be a curse instead of a blessing, and the protection withdrawn in such a manner as to leave the colony smarting under a sense of injury and insult. But while some parts of the policy which has led to the emancipation of Canada from direct Imperial rule cannot be defended—while, as in the sudden and wholesale withdrawal of the Imperial troops, much cruel and unmerited wrong, of a kind which the official Liberal mind seemed to be incapable of understanding, was undoubtedly inflicted on Canada—it is cheering to know that the people of the Dominion have agreed to bury in oblivion their past grievances, and that Canada was "never more united than at present in sympathy of purpose and unity of interest with the mother country—more at one with her in social habits and tone of thought—more proud of her claim to share in the heritage of England's past—more ready to accept whatever obligations may be imposed on her by her partnership in the future fortunes of the Empire." And it is a proof of the extreme sensitiveness with which Canadians cling to this theory of their connection—of the jealousy with which they watch the words of their Governors—that the press of both parties in the Dominion have criticised one expression of Lord Dufferin with what may appear to us needless keenness. It occurs in the concluding passage of his Toronto speech, where he spoke of "building up a prosperous, loyal, and powerful associate of the British

Empire." We would not attach too much importance to this phrase, but it has evoked in Canadian memories an unlucky phrase of another Governor-General, who during the Gladstonian *régime* spoke of exchanging Canadian allegiance for "alliance." As part of the Empire, Canada is necessarily an associate in the future destinies of Great Britain, but it is the association, not of allies with allies, but of parent and child.

Lord Dufferin was happy in dealing with that popular American opinion which has decided that Canada must speedily unite her fortunes with those of the great Republic at her doors. That is the universal belief of every good American citizen, and perhaps of a good many in this country who find these effusions of Canadian loyalty in the way of their scheme of the future. The reasons why Canada should not accept the flattering destiny prepared for her are set forth with equal wit and sagacity by Lord Dufferin; and here, also, it may be that he will disappoint some of his friends in England. Canada, he declares, cannot join with the United States, because it is "essentially a democratic people"—because they are accustomed to see "the popular will exercise an immediate and complete control over the Executive of the country"

—because the Ministers in Canada are but a committee of Parliament, which was itself an emanation from the constituencies; and because "no Canadian would be able to breathe freely if he thought that the persons administering the affairs of his country were removed beyond the supervision and control of the Legislative Assemblies." The sarcasm was keenly enjoyed by Lord Dufferin's hearers, who were able also to feel the force of some reasons for repudiating the Republic and remaining loyal to the Empire. To a Constitution well balanced in all its parts, so peculiarly adapted to Canadian wants, so happily combining all the advantages of the Imperial protection with perfect self-government, Canada is able to add other advantages peculiar to herself on the American continent—a judiciary not chosen by popular election, but selected for ability and professional standing by responsible Ministers—a civil service free from political partisanship, and making the service of the State rather than of party its chief object—an electoral system purged of corruption—a population hardy, thrifty, simple, industrious, and God-fearing—and, lastly, an unlimited breadth of territory, abounding in all natural resources. Such a country enjoys a condition of national existence almost unique for its happiness among the nations of the earth, and has a destiny the most brilliant which the imagination can conceive. And it ought to be no small source of pride to ourselves that this child of our loins still cherishes as the proudest blessing of all its right to a share in the power and the glory of the British Empire.

(From the *Telegraph*, September 24.)

THERE has yet to arise that far-sighted and competent statesman who shall truly understand the enormous importance of her Colonies to Great Britain, and point out the right way to bind in a lasting league of interests and sympathies the mother country and her Imperial children. The problem will

keep, because as yet even the elder offspring in this magnificent family are still "growing up;" but every real Liberal ought to wish for a permanent and firm alliance of the England here and the Englands beyond the sea. If a text were needed for these remarks it might be found in the last news from Canada. We are not speaking of the Reciprocity Treaty, nor of the change of Ministry at Quebec—the Associated Chambers of Commerce have their eye upon the first; and as for the second, these robust Colonies of ours change their Governments so often, and with such little interruption to their prosperity, that it hardly seems to mean much more than the perpetually new suits of clothes required by growing lads. The item of Canadian intelligence which arrests our attention is a remarkable speech delivered by Lord Dufferin at Toronto on the 2nd inst., at a banquet to which he had been invited on the conclusion of a six weeks' tour in the Dominion. It is perfectly clear from this address that, during his largely-extended progress through the territories which he rules in the name of her Majesty, two facts had forced themselves upon his mind with entirely novel and overwhelming conviction—one, the great present prosperity of the Dominion, and the other the heartfelt attachment which it feels to the mother country and the person of our Sovereign. Lord Dufferin has been long enough in Canada not to fall a victim to the peril of first impressions; and yet, after seeing with his own eyes what a splendid possession our race has acquired in British North America, he returns to the seat of Government absolutely dazzled by the beauty of the land and its superb resources. He spoke at Toronto of "the shifting vision of mountain, wood, and water; the inland seas and silver-rolling rivers, the golden corn-lands and busy, prosperous towns through which I have held my way." He doubted "if any Governor had ever passed through a land so replete with contentment in the present, so pregnant with promise in the future." And, making what allowance we will for the amenities of an after-dinner speech, there was obviously serious and earnest satisfaction in the Governor-General's breast when he declared that he had witnessed everywhere a population "hardy, thrifty, industrious, sober, simple, and God-fearing," living happy lives, with an almost unlimited reserve of territory behind them. Lord Dufferin was especially complacent upon the number of Canadian infants whom he had witnessed. "The only thing still needed," he said, "is to man the ship with a more numerous crew. From the extraordinary number of babies I have seen at every window and at every cottage door, native energy and talent appear to be rapidly supplying this defect; still it is a branch of industry in which the home manufacturer has no occasion to dread foreign competition, and Canadians can well afford to share their fair inheritance with the straitened sons of toil at home." He "wants more"; marriages and births make him elated; so fine a thing it is to have a continent for a back garden.

The other point which comes out from this speech is the fervent loyalty to the Queen and firm attachment to the British type of Government that Lord Dufferin declares himself to have encountered in every stage of his journey. We should positively have to quote half the Toronto deliverance if we were to cull all the passages in which the Governor-General of the Dominion testifies to these universal sentiments. From the northern fir-forests to the lake farm-

steads; from Niagara to Nepigon; from the workshop and the office to the log-hut and the lumber-shed, his Lordship protests that he found the same devoted loyalty to her Majesty and the same pride in belonging to the British Empire. He goes so far indeed as to call this loyalty "passionate," and he says, "Never was Canada more united than at present in sympathy of purpose and unity of interest with the mother country—more at one with her in social habits and tone of thought—more proud of her claim to share in the heritage of England's past—more ready to accept whatever obligations may be imposed upon her by her partnership in the future fortunes of the Empire." This very strong assertion was received by the representative crowd at Toronto with "tremendous applause," and we can hardly doubt that it is based on fact when we hear Lord Dufferin proceeding to declare that in the remotest wilds of Canada, as much as in its crowded settlements, he had seen the most secluded backwoodsman turn out to hail the British flag, and to fire from his rusty fowling-piece, amid the cheers of his children, a solitary but sincere *feu de joie*. Lord Dufferin went on to trace the source of this hearty attachment to the absolute liberty in which the mother country has reared and left her colonial children. We have let them grow up in their own way, and, as they are now able to shift for themselves, we meddle no more with them than by sending a representative of the Throne. Being replaceable at short notice, as his Lordship pleasantly said, that personage imposes no chance of a dead-lock, or of any prolonged opposition in legislative matters to the desires of the population. In fact, while paying a flying visit to Chicago and Detroit, the Governor-General had been able to put aside the humorous hints at annexation which he heard by observing that Canada was too democratic to stand the style of Government occasionally witnessed on the other side of the St. Lawrence. The whole speech is a lively testimony to the prosperity, contentment, and ardent loyalty of a great colony—to which, be it remembered, no shilling of British public money now flows. It shows us the wise and fortunate reverse of that foolish policy of Lord North and King George the Third which cost us the American war. It instructs us how to rear to Imperial manhood our sturdy offshoots, and it holds out the assurance of the up-rise on the other side of the Atlantic of a kindred nation which can hardly fail to be, as this speech put it, "a firm and powerful associate of the British Empire."

The two points, however, which we wish to emphasise in the Toronto address are, first, that which refers to wise emigration from these shores; and next, that which bears on the policy of knitting together with ourselves the Colonial Empire. Here is a country where the Governor-General has seen none but thriving and contented people, where children are riches, and where steady labour is all but sure to reap the comforts of independence. Lord Dufferin relates how he was deploring in the presence of some emigrants that any father should have to look upon his young family as a misfortune, and was saying that in Canada nobody could have too many—when a stalwart young emigrant, with his wife, cried out, "Right you are, Sir; that's what I've been telling Emily here." And all this bountiful expanse of free and fertile soil, where babies are at a premium, is evidently just as

much England as Shropshire or Devonshire. Is it not clear, then, where the remedy lies for low wages and agricultural strikes? We ought to people this Transatlantic Albion, thus making it more and more English. And when it is seen how strong the feeling of attachment remains towards the home country, statesmen ought not to found colonial policy on a cold equity or cut-and-dried formalism towards our great offshoots. They ought to value and use this warm sympathy, this natural affection of nations; they ought to seek just and judicious methods of giving it political expression. Commercial and local interests may meanwhile be kept separate. Canada looks after her own concerns quite as sharply as we, and so do the Australian Colonies; but the same sincere love of England prevails in Sydney and Melbourne as in Quebec, though they may think our politics old-fashioned and live their own public life at a pace which would seem breathless here. We repeat that this ardent and ineradicable affection for the mother country to which Lord Dufferin bears such glad witness in the Dominion is a force not half enough studied or appreciated by our public men. It ought to be met with hearty signs of estimation and reciprocity; it ought to be cultivated as the truest and richest fruit of our work in founding these young Empires; and so met and so cultivated, it would at no distant day furnish the basis for an alliance in which England might trust in the hour of peril.

(From the *Hour*, September 24.)

LORD DUFFERIN has been revealing to the people of Canada, in a remarkably graceful and able speech, delivered at a banquet given to his Excellency at Toronto, the impressions made on him by his recent tour through the Dominion. Though intended for Canada, and well fitted to foster the Imperial ideas which are so rapidly developing the national unity of that great country, the speech is not without important lessons for the old country also. On various points the remarks of Lord Dufferin may help to correct prevalent misconceptions, and to render innocuous foolish or malevolent misrepresentations. The intensity of devoted loyalty to Queen Victoria which he everywhere observed, and which was equally manifested by the remote and secluded settler in the distant wilds of the far West and by the dweller in crowded cities, the close sympathy with the mother country universally exhibited, which makes the Canadian feel he has part and lot in the great Empire that encircles the globe, and the tokens of his contentment with the political constitution of his own Dominion, ought to impose silence on the detractors who tell us Canada is only anxious to cut herself adrift from Great Britain and yearning to throw in her lot with the United States. Of a more directly practical character were the observations of the Governor-General on the subject of emigration. If they are laid to heart there will be fewer mistakes committed on this point; we shall not be inundated with so many foolish counsels, and not a few may be saved from heartbreaking disappointments.

If the speech of Lord Dufferin may teach useful lessons to many on this

side of the Atlantic, it ought to supply fresh stimulus and encouragement to the people of the Dominion themselves. What seems more than anything else to have impressed the Governor-General during his tour was the evidence he discerned of the dawn and growth of a sentiment of national life and unity which is making Canadians conscious of the lofty destiny that lies before them. One of the evils of party feeling in a young country composed of numerous semi-independent provinces, each having its own individual interests engaging its thoughts, is to foster separatist tendencies, and to check the development of the consciousness of what all possess in common. A heavy blow was given to such impulses on the part of the different provinces of British North America by the scheme of Confederation which the present Colonial Secretary was instrumental in carrying out. Since its realisation there have been powerful motives constantly operating in the minds of the best portion of the population, impelling them to subordinate their separate and selfish interests to those of the great whole of which they are parts. More and more they have been learning to be proud of being Canadians, with all the name implies. Lord Dufferin has witnessed some of the manifestations and the fruits of this patriotic spirit. He saw, wherever he went (he tells us) a prosperous and contented people, "satisfied with the prospects of their country; satisfied with their Government, and with the institutions under which they prosper; satisfied to be the subjects of the Queen; satisfied to be members of the British Empire." Faith in the "manifest destiny" of the young federation is based upon the settled conviction that it is well for both countries that the connection between them should endure; and this conviction rests upon the reasonable assurance that it is in the well-ordered freedom of a Constitutional Monarchy that Canada has the best security for her future, and for the development of her great capabilities. In no part of his speech was his Excellency more happy than where he showed that the connection with the old country is reciprocally advantageous, and that through it Canada enjoys a wealth of privilege such as has fallen to the lot of few communities. It is impossible to conceive—if the Canadians continue what they have been and are—of the young Dominion preferring absorption in the American Union to the proud heritage of glorious memories and present blessings which it enjoys as a portion of the British Empire.

With much humour, but with a real political philosophy, Lord Dufferin indicated the superiority of Canadian over American institutions. In his recent travels he was often addressed with the playful suggestion that Canada could not do better than unite her fortunes with those of the great Republic. To these invitations, he says, he invariably replied that the Canadians were essentially a democratic people; that they required that the popular will should exercise an immediate and complete control over the Executive of the country; that the Ministers who formed the Government were a committee of Parliament which itself was an emanation from the constituencies, and that Canadians would never acquiesce in a political system which removed the persons who administered the country's affairs from the supervision of their legislative assemblies. The fundamental vices of the United States Constitution are indicated in these remarks; and, strange though it appeared to sound to his hearers, it is no doubt true that the direct contact of the Executive with the

representatives of the people ensures a fuller measure of democratic freedom than is practicable in America. At the same time, being built on the model of the British Constitution, there are efficient checks on the licence of democratic power. A safeguard is provided against constitutional deadlocks through collisions between the "estates of the realm" by the institution of the Governor-Generalship; and in her judiciary, which is not chosen by a capricious method of popular election, but selected by responsible Ministers and independent of popular favour and political influence, Canada has a Civil Service exalted above party and partisanship, and devoted to the supreme object of the service of the State. After this exposition of the comparative superiority of Canadian over American institutions, of the greater permanence and stability in union with a larger measure of elasticity and true popular privilege which characterises the Dominion Constitution, Canadians will not be apt to undervalue their political position as contrasted with that of the United States. Their Governor-General has placed before them a lofty ideal, and if they work towards its realisation in a spirit of sobriety and with self-possession, they may be sure of attaining it. It will be attained, however, not by severing or weakening the bonds that unite the members of the Confederation to each other and to the mother country, but by strengthening and multiplying them. Not the loose constitution of an ill-compacted federal union, but the autonomy and concentration of a national unity wielding fit legislative and administrative instruments, is, we believe, the goal of Canada.

(From the *Times*, September 25.)

WHILE the consideration of the Draught Treaty has been postponed by the suspension of political life both at Ottawa and at Washington, the Governor-General has been travelling through the western portion of Canada, and has extended his visit into the adjoining States of the Union. At a banquet in Toronto some three weeks ago, Lord Dufferin gave an account of his journey which goes far to confirm our faith in the steady advancement of the Dominion. The cordial reception he met on his recent visit to Ontario was the due of a man who surrendered a promising political career at home for the difficult and uncertain duties of a Colonial Viceroyalty. But, as he was careful to explain at Toronto, the earnestness of the welcome meant something more than a tribute to the individual: it was the voice of loyalty finding an expression the more decided because its reality has sometimes been questioned—was indeed questioned good-humouredly, as the Governor-General pointed out, by his hosts at Chicago and Detroit. Without going quite so far as Lord Dufferin in commendation of the political machinery of government in the Dominion, we may agree that it leaves nothing to be desired—even by a fanatical believer in "the glittering and sounding generalities of natural right that make up the Declaration of Independence," to quote the words of Rufus Choate—on the

score of democratic orthodoxy, of implicit submission to the voice authoritatively announcing the popular will. But with this full measure of political freedom the Canadians are proud to feel that they are linked to the national life of England, and they regard their allegiance to the Queen as the symbol of this union. The enthusiastic, almost passionate, loyalty which exhibits itself in a hearty welcome to a popular Viceroy, is an element of real political importance in the future of Canada. But we should be sorry to think that it spent itself mainly in banquets and flags, in cheers and congratulatory addresses. The pride of being members of this empire, with its historic place in the sight of the world and its heritage of grand traditions, should bring with it a more weighty sense of political responsibility. "Noblesse oblige;" and if the Canadians rightly measure the value of their birthright, they will take care to eradicate with relentless severity every corrupting taint which betrays itself in the conduct of public affairs. We were glad to perceive in the promptitude of the condemnation passed on the authors of the Pacific Railway scandal a recognition of this duty, and an equally good symptom on a narrower arena is the emphatic manner in which the Local Government of Quebec has been driven out of office for the misdeeds of some of its members in regard to another smaller and more recent scandal, the "Tanneries Land Swap." It is perhaps a necessity of a new country importing its institutions whole from an old one that all sorts of rank weeds are conveyed with the soil about the roots. We should therefore be rather glad at the quick condemnation of an offence than indignant at its commission. It is unfortunately not to be concealed that Canada has its electoral corruption, like the mother country; nor will Canadians do well to sit with their hands folded, and justify themselves by an example which proves nothing. In the meantime, however, it is satisfactory that they inflict the proper penalties, as is apparent from the fact that six supporters of Mr. Mackenzie's Government have been lately unseated on petition.

But probably the political condition of Canada will exercise but a very slight and indirect influence upon the class of immigrants whom the Colonial Governments are just at present most anxious to attract. Is Canada a desirable field for the agricultural labourer who has grown to be discontented with the rewards and prospects of his life at home? The question is still debated, and remains debatable. Lord Dufferin at Toronto said he desired to guard himself against being understood to invite this class of immigrants to the hardships of a working life in Canada by a too rose-coloured picture; he could offer no general advice, he said, so much depended on the individual training, health, conduct, and past life of each emigrant; but he added that in all his experience he had not met with a single settler in any rank who had expressed regret for casting in his lot with the colony. On the other hand, he warned the labourer from Norfolk or Dorsetshire that he would have to purchase independence by working a great deal harder than ever he had to work before. Another form of hardship, besides manual toil, which the immigrant to Canada must endure, very few residents in Canada will ever allow to be a hardship at all; but it can hardly help being one to the ill-provided new-comer, and it is useless to disguise it. A letter which we publish in another column shows the extreme

variations of temperature to which the climate of Canada is subject, and the writer infers that only persons of robust constitution should venture upon a career of labour exposed to such painful vicissitudes of heat and cold. In another communication the Secretary of the Labourers' Union, who has undertaken a tour of inquiry in Canada, gives some account of the preliminary trials of the voyage, and of the first settlement of immigrant labourers. No doubt many mistakes will be made, and mistakes will involve suffering; but ultimately Canada will doubtless obtain the class of settlers she needs, and a system of self-adjusting selection will draw the proper sort of recruits from England. This is a matter in which Governments can effect little by interference, and probably nothing which is permanently beneficial. The local legislatures of Canada are contributing largely to assist emigration from the mother country, but it is quite certain that this assisted current of population will not be fitted to the necessities of the new country in the same degree as a natural and spontaneous efflux.

(From the *Morning Post*, September 25.)

WE have Lord Dufferin's word for it that the Canadians are loyal towards the mother country to a degree which must be considered little short of surprising. Everywhere he went he was met with indications of a "passionate" loyalty. It is no use arguing why this should or should not be so. Of the fact there can be no doubt; and it is an exceedingly pleasing fact to have to think of and record. This loyalty is much more than skin-deep. It has had to stand some crucial trials. The withdrawal of the British troops was a measure that little pleased the Canadians. The strange and unsympathetic attitude of a portion of the English press at one time was calculated to arouse resentment in Canada if it had lain near the surface. The action of the late Government in the affairs of San Juan and the fisheries was provoking enough. But in spite of these trials of their loyalty and affection the Canadians have maintained their warmth of feeling towards England and their desire of remaining attached to her. The reason of this is not far to seek. England has accorded Canada complete control over her own affairs while honestly endeavouring to assist her in every possible way. There have been differences of opinion both in England and in Canada as to the course that has been pursued by the mother country towards her dependency. Some have held that the bonds between the two were being too much relaxed. But the result shows that in treating Canada not, so to speak, as a mere child, but as a grown-up member of the family, England acted with wisdom and discretion. The ties between England and her colonial children will be all the more real and lasting when they are apparently but loosely hung between them. The relationship must in fact be maintained by the development of a free and hearty sentiment on the part of the colonies. We have only to abstain from intermeddling in their domestic

affairs, and to treat them with sympathy and affection, and what has evidently happened in Canada will be produced elsewhere.

But of all the portions of Lord Dufferin's tour that seem likely to be productive of good practical effects, his visit to the cities of Chicago and Detroit was perhaps the most important. It is quite impossible to overrate the consequences that may flow from an improvement of the means of communication, and an extension of the commercial relations between Canada and the great grain-bearing States of America. The co-operation of the Canadians and the people of these States is alone required to build up a commercial system of gigantic proportions, and that would be advantageous alike to each. The rivers and lakes of Canada constitute the natural outlet for the produce of these wonderfully fertile States; and as that fact is duly recognised now by both sides, we may fairly hope that the obstacles in the way of a more free commercial intercourse between them will soon be removed. That Lord Dufferin was immensely pleased with his reception, and with what he saw on the American side of the frontier, is evident; and we cannot but believe that his visit to the American States and his trip through Canada will be productive of good practical effects as well as of kindly and pleasing feelings.